

11
The Militia Reform'd;

OR AN

EASY SCHEME

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Furnishing *ENGLAND*

with a Constant LAND-
FORCE, capable to *prevent*
or to *subdue* any Foreign Pow-
er; and to maintain perpetual
QUIET at Home, without
endangering the PUBLICK
LIBERTY.

[Toland, Joha]

Tam Marte quam Mercurio.

L O N D O N;

Printed by *John Darby* in *Bartholomew*
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the Cross-Keys and Bible in *Corn-*
hill. MDCXCVIII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

EASY SCHEME

TEACHING ENGLISH

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

FOR THE YEAR 1800

AND FOR THE YEAR 1801

AND FOR THE YEAR 1802

AND FOR THE YEAR 1803

AND FOR THE YEAR 1804

AND FOR THE YEAR 1805

AND FOR THE YEAR 1806

AND FOR THE YEAR 1807

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AND FOR THE YEAR 1809

AND FOR THE YEAR 1810

AND FOR THE YEAR 1811

AND FOR THE YEAR 1812

AND FOR THE YEAR 1813

AND FOR THE YEAR 1814

AND FOR THE YEAR 1815

AND FOR THE YEAR 1816

AND FOR THE YEAR 1817

AND FOR THE YEAR 1818

The Militia Reform'd, &c.

THE following Discourse
(most Noble LORD) be-
gun at your Request, and
finish'd within the short time You
prescrib'd, is now made a Present
to the World; which, if the Fa-
vour deserves any Return, is ob-
lig'd to your Lordship for the Pub-
lication. You have long since
justly acquir'd the Esteem of all
good Men; and the known mea-
sure of their Prayers, when they
with their Relations happy, is that
they may equal your Lordship's
Probity and Understanding. But
tho you neither want, nor desire the
regards of any besides the *Vertuous*;
yet no News can be more pleas-
ing, than to hear of a constant

Addition to your Friends, this being an infallible Sign, that the Number of Publick-spirited Men increases: For he must needs be your sworn Enemy, who is not a hearty lover of his Country. I purposely forbear to express your Name, or to enlarge an Encomium, which, I know, will not be grateful, tho' unsuspected of Flattery; and therefore I leave your Lordship to be entertain'd by mine, or your own more solid Observations.

1. **T**O employ one's Thoughts on what he pleases, and to speak as freely as he thinks, is the greatest Advantage of living in a free Government; the next to this is being Master of what you possess from the Favour of others, or by your own Industry; and then, that Merit is indifferently rewarded in Persons of all Conditions and Degrees. Their due Value is ordinarily set upon the

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the two last by most Men, and Life itself should be readily expos'd to maintain or acquire the first; for, without it to live, is, in my Opinion, worse than any Death. Under Despotick Princes none dares mutter at his own, or the Sufferings of his Fellows; much less put so much Confidence in his dearest Friend, as to condole their common Slavery, where the Informer is tempted with immense Rewards, and certain Death or Disgrace attend the Accus'd. This is the bless'd Unity of that Constitution which some admire so much, because no Complaints are heard in it; whence they would persuade us, that it is also free from all Grievances. But where Laws secure the Rights of the SUBJECT, with the same Care as the Privileges of the MAGISTRATE, no sooner is any pinch'd but he cries out; and the Authors of the Peoples Oppression are oblig'd to change their Conduct, or to rectify their Mistakes. Either the PRINCE is abus'd, when his MINISTERS have seduc'd him by false Representations; or sometimes the MINISTERS refuse to act, if the PRINCE be resolv'd upon Arbitrary Courses. Now, 'tis our peculiar Hap-

pinels in *England*, that no other Government in *Europe* is equal to us, whether the DIGNITY of the Magistracy, or the LIBERTY of the People be consider'd. But particularly in all dubious Affairs of Publick Concern, 'tis every Man's Duty to assist his Country by his Advice, as well as with his Hand in time of Danger. And Matters are as freely debated among us abroad, as within their own Walls by our Senators, who likewise in their printed Votes inform us of all their Resolutions and Proceedings. These Considerations, join'd with the Request of a Person I honour, have prevail'd with me to deliver my Opinion at this time concerning the modelling and disciplining of our MILITIA; and I question not but it will by our Wise and August *Parliament* be establish'd on such a foot as shall effectually defend us hereafter against all Foreign Force, and constantly preserve our Freedom and Peace at home.

But before I descend to any Particulars, I must premise something concerning the present Factions that unfortunately divide us, and which discover their fatal Effects too much upon the present Occasion. One says, the *Toxics* will

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will never heartily consent to any Model that makes the MILITIA useful: Another replies, that this is only an ill-natur'd Insinuation, while some of the WHIGS oppose the thing openly, and are glad of any Pretence to conceal their true Reasons. But these Names are now of a very doubtful signification. We hear of Court and Country, of Apostate and Adhering WHIGS; nor are the TORIES more united among themselves. 'Tis observable that no Man, however otherwise negligent of his Conduct, is willing to own that without any reason at all he differs from others in Word or Action: but whether he dissembles, or ingenuously tells the Cause of his Dissent, yet *Interest* or *Conscience* (real or mistaken) are the two principal Springs of all Divisions. Indeed we find by frequent Experience, that where *Interest* secretly governs, *Conscience* is openly pretended; but in this case no body's bare Profession is to be regarded, his Actions being the most certain Interpreter of his Thoughts. If one therefore, who would pass for a *Patriot*, has any *Interest* separate from that of the Publick, he's no longer entitl'd to this Denomination;

but is a real Hypocrite that's ready to sacrifice the Common Good to his Private Gain, than which no worse can be said of any particular Faction. Now such Distinctions as these of *WHIG* and *TORY*, cannot miss of being often made with a great deal of Partiality and Injustice; for, according to your predominant Passion, he's a *WHIG* whom you love, and he that you hate's a *TORY*; and so on the contrary, as you happen to be engag'd in either Party. Notwithstanding, 'tis sometimes a mighty easy thing to see through all these feign'd Pretences. Should one, for Example, who was formerly taken for a Friend to *LIBERTY*, now that he has got or expects Preferment, neglect or oppose any Publick Good, in promoting which he might be disappointed or depriv'd of his Post; this Man must not think to live always upon the Credit of the old Stock, when it appears that either he has entirely chang'd his Sentiments, or was never sincere; and that he resisted the former Powers, because they were not kind enough to him, but not out of any fix'd Enmity to *SLAVERY*. Some Folks there be who seem'd at the beginning to favour
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the REVOLUTION, yet ever since oppos'd the Government, because they think their real or fanci'd Merit not sufficiently rewarded by the King, to whom it is impossible to heap Preferments upon every Body tho never so deserving, unless they would be all Commanders without any to obey them. But we likewise know others who from Enemies to King *WILLIAM*, are become his Friends; and this of all Changes is the most natural and commendable, that one who by Education, Example, or otherwise, was once engag'd against the Interest of his Country, should upon better consideration desert a Party to join with the Publick. Several of these, it may be, never thought during one hour of the Original or End of Societies, till the late Differences gave 'em an opportunity and encouragement to do it: And if the Discovery of Truth proves to be the Result of their Study, we ought not to reject their Reasons now, because we justly disallow'd their Errors before. Certainly a true PATRIOT can be of no Faction, nor consequently for excluding any from sharing the Blessings of that LIBERTY they are willing to support.

If

If the *Romans* admitted their vanquish'd Enemies to an equal participation of their Laws and Privileges; how much more readily should we embrace our own Country-men with both Arms, and welcome the return of our prodigal Brethren to their Duty towards our common Mother? But granting that in this Business of the *MILLIA*, some of those who promote it are not sincere, tho' Charity commands us to hope the best; we need not be solicitous whether they are or not, so long as the thing is good in it self, and they concur with us in establishing a Constitution they cannot afterwards resist if they would, nor, I hope, be willing, if they could. This is the highest Mark of Sincerity; and, for my part, I shall never think him a Fo to England that has a hand in it. But if any continue still scrupulous, let him not be ashamed to imitate the Prudence of the great *Apostle*, who said, *Some preach Christ even out of Envy and Strife, and some also out of good Will; The one preach Christ out of Contention, not sincerely; — but the other out of love. — What then? Notwithstanding, every way, whether in Presence, or in Truth, Christ is preach'd;*

and

Phil. i.
15. — 11.

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and I therein do rejoice, yea and will rejoice. Now what's judg'd lawful in Religion, and by an Apostle too, may, I think, with a very good Grace be admitted in Politicks. After all, I am the furthest imaginable from being an Advocate for any disaffected Persons.

The Government is under no Obligation to Indulge Men continuing in opposition to it; nor should those, who are resolv'd upon adhering to the late King, think upon abusing the Lenity of the present, if the Immortal B. U. R. U. S. spard not his own Sons, when they were found plotting the Restoration of the Abolished Tyrant.

3. Another thing I am sorry to hear out of a great many peoples Mouths, is, that we have nor Vertue enough to agree upon any tolerable Model of training our MILITIA, and that it's almost impossible we should ever recover our former Reputation of Valour. But this Argument is nothing the less weak for being so common; and the true Intent of such as always cry none but good Men can make good Laws, is (besides affronting others) to place all Power in the hands of their own Party, who with them are the only good Men.

'Tis

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'Tis Government or Education makes all the Difference among Nations as to Military and Civil Discipline, foreign Commerce, domestick Oeconomy, or the like. Upon the first Discovery of this Island by the *Romans*, its Inhabitants were found as savage as we know the *Americans* to be now. The Climate of *Rome* is still the same, the Bodies of its Citizens, and the Distances of other Places remain the same; yet they have wholly lost the Secret of conquering the World, and are become as poor and mean spirited as their Ancestors were gallant and brave: for the latter were free, and the former are ignorant Slaves. To come nearer home, all the Pains imaginable have been taken for a considerable space to render our selves luxurious and illiterate, the better to dispose us to favour the tyrannical Designs of our late Kings; but have we not so retriev'd our Credit in *Europe* under the Administration of his present Majesty, as if we had voluntarily suffer'd it to be eclips'd a while, that it might shine the brighter ever after? And to apply this more particularly still, I readily own that the *MILITIA*, as now regulated, is burdensom and useless; but it follows

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not that all are necessarily so, the contrary being plain from the Histories of every Age as well as from present Experience. And before I have done I shall give a Demonstration that the Frame of our Militia could not be more successfully contriv'd to render it the Object of the Peoples Contempt and Aversion, with a Design to create in them a good Opinion of Mercenaries, and to make 'em believe a necessity of always keeping up a Standing Force of such. In a word, when our Men are better train'd, they will not make such a ridiculous Figure under their Arms; and when the Charge is less felt or laid out to better purpose, it will be more cheerfully paid.

4. But we are still encompass'd with many Dangers. It's said that those Souldiers who have so bravely fought for ours and the Liberties of *Europe*, declare it is not from any private Interest of their own, but out of regard to our future Safety, they desir'd to be kept on this Foot; and that in Honour we ought not to discharge Men who suffer'd so much for our sakes. We are to blame indeed if we don't sufficiently provide for our own Security; but as to the Soul-

Souldier's Merits, I answer first, that their past Service is duly acknowledg'd, and order'd to be rewarded. Secondly, That such as never saw our Enemies, are more clamorous than those who beat them. And, Thirdly, That this unreasonable Demand was not made by the Body of the common Souldiers, who are generally desirous of returning home to their Wives, or their Relations, or their Callings; and more particularly at this time, because that hitherto they have known nothing but the Danger, Want, or Fatigue of the War; whereas, once tasting the Pleasures of Idleness and Ease, they will every day become less willing to disband. And now the Question all this while ought not to have been, whether these Gentlemen mean what they say, or only pretend it; but what's most for the Advantage of the Nation. This was the Motive of raising them, and should be that of establishing or laying them aside. War being their Trade, 'tis no wonder if they be always for continuing it; nor can it ever happen to be otherwise, should they be wholly left to themselves, no more than any other Persons, without the Intervention of the Civil Authority.

they would reform the Abuses of their own Professions. But the *Parliament* has now put an end to this Dispute; and, to the great Satisfaction of all good Men, granted to his Majesty a sufficient *Guard* both for the Honour and Safety of his Person, with a competent Number besides to secure some important Places till the New *MILITIA* is regulated, which, I hope, in a little time may be happily effected. In the following Model Provision is made for several hundreds of the disbanded Army, and I dare say the Change propos'd in their Condition will give most of 'em Satisfaction; tho, by the way, they ought to be content, should the *Parliament* proceed no further to gratify them than they have already resolv'd. The most stupid Souldier knows very well an Army has nothing in it so charming that could induce the Nation to raise one, but upon some pressing Necessity, and not to keep 'em up perpetually; nor can the Service perform'd be ever so great, as not to be requited under such a Return. I cannot determin whether it would occasion more Indignation or Mirth to hear a Man contending, that because the Souldiers defend-
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ed our Liberty at the publick Charge for nine Years against the *French*, we can do no less than become their Slaves for ever. This Paradox is too gross for any to maintain, or perhaps to intend; yet every considering and indifferent Person must perceive the Consequence to be true. I shall therefore, to avoid the Labour of proving what is self-evident, put you only in mind of the Gentleman, who, having engag'd the Maid to speak a good Word for him to her Mistress, would needs when the Lady consented quit her, and marry the Maid, out of pure Gratitude for the pains she had taken on his behalf.

5. But the Honour and Safety of the Nation is the commendable Design of all sides; wherein they are certainly in the right, since all Countries must have some Force to defend them against foreign Invasions and domestick Tumults: for as it was their own Good and Security which occasion'd Men first to quit the State of Nature, and to associate themselves into Governments; so the Raising and Regulation of their Forces must be directed and accommodated to the same ends. An Island is best situated for Preservation, as having need
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of little other Force, either to infest foreign Coasts, or to protect its own, besides a numerous FLEET which it can never want. But if it be likewise a Government for Encrease, such as ours, its Situation naturally leading it to Trade and planting of Colonies; and if it has the noble Ambition of holding the Balance steady between other Governments, of succouring the Distress'd, and grudging Liberty to none, then it must be always provided with a considerable *Land-Force*. Of this there's no Dispute. Then the only Question is, Whether it be safest to trust Arms continually in the hands of ignorant, idle, and needy Persons; or, only when there's occasion for it, in the hands of sober, industrious, and understanding Freemen. That the latter can never be dangerous to our Liberty and Property at home, and will be infinitely more effectual against an Enemy attacking, or invaded by us, I am now going to prove; and at the same time to deliver an intelligible and practicable MODEL of disciplining and maintaining such a Force with very little Charge, and no Trouble at all. My Method shall be to lay down a few *Propositions*, and those

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very short, to each of which I subjoin a *Discourse* confirming or explaining it, and containing what other Remarks might be naturally made in that Place. But I am so far from writing all I have read or observ'd upon this Subject, that I shall omit several useful things wherein the World seems to be already well satisfy'd, or that are not absolutely essential to my purpose. As I expect the common Fate of all Writers, that some probably out of Ignorance or Malice, and others, perhaps, from substantial Reasons may except against my Performance; so I desire (as in Justice I am bound) that all real Imperfections, or whatever the Injudicious and Envious may mistake for such, be wholly laid at my own door, and not charg'd upon the Subject, which ought not to suffer under the Disadvantage of unskilful Management.

6. Now my First Proposition shall be, THAT *ENGLAND* CONSISTING OF FREEMEN AND SERVANTS, NONE BE CAPABLE OF SERVING IN THE MILITIA BUT THE FORMER. By FREEMEN I understand Men of Property, or Persons that are able to live of themselves; and those who cannot subsist in this Independence

pendence I call SERVANTS. The bare Explication of the Terms should, one would think, be sufficient to perswade any Man of Sense that the former should not only be sooner trusted with Arms than the latter; but that they must needs use 'em likewise to better purpose. For besides that all the Endowments which Nature has made common to both are improv'd in FREEMEN, the very Temper of their Bodies being much stronger and livelier by better feeding, which is no little Ingredient to Courage, they fight also for their Liberty and Property; whereas the other have nothing to lose but their Lives, which are likewise infinitely dearer to those whose Circumstances render 'em more agreeable and easy. The Romans, who understood the Art of War beyond all the World, did not make SOLDIERY a Refuge to Poverty and Idleness; for none but Men of Fortune and Property, whose private Interest firmly engag'd them to the Publick Good, had the Honour of serving in their Armies. Nay, so far were they from employing the poor and servile sort, that unless a Man was worth a certain Sum appointed by Law, he was

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excluded from military Duties, which in that Government was thought no reputable Privilege. All that enjoy'd not the Property assign'd they partly call'd * POLMEN, as being return'd for nothing but their Heads in the publick Taxation; and partly † BREEDERS, as being no other way useful to Rome, but by encreasing the Number of its Citizens. || *Seeing a Man's real or personal Estate, says AULUS GELLIUS, are a sure Pledg and Hostage for his Fidelity to the Government, and that these Enjoyments seem to be the ground of one's Love to his Country, therefore neither the BREEDERS nor the POLMEN were listed as Souldiers, but in case of extraordinary Tumults or Insurrections. But they were arm'd upon those Occasions by the*

* Capitecensi (à Capitis censione) vocabantur qui nullo aut perquam parvo ære censebantur. *A. Gellius, l. 16. c. 10.*

† Proletarii, à munere officioque prolis edendæ appellati sunt. *Id. ibid.*

|| Quoniam res pecuniaque familiaris obsidis vicem pignorisque esse apud Rempublicam videbantur; amorisque in patriam fides quadam in ea firmamentumque erat; neque Proletarii neque Capitecensi, Milites, nisi in tumultu maximo, scribebantur. *Id. ibid.*

the * Publick, and rather employ'd in keeping watch and ward at home, than led into the Field against the Enemy. We find that all those who aspir'd at Tyranny or any unlimited Power above the Laws, as † *MARIUS* for example, did constantly make Levies of the poorer sort, putting Arms into the hands of those that had no stake to lose, and who for that Reason would be sure not to design the Good of the Commonwealth, but only his Profit that employ'd them: nor will they be more faithful to the latter than to the Government when any other makes them a more advantageous Offer. Now, all this is natural enough, and should not surprize any body: for the same Reason that prevails with the *Rich* to fight for that Government, whose excellent Constitution secures his Property to him, moves the *Indigent* to serve against it; and that is

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* Armaque iis sumptu publico præbebantur. *Id. ibid.*

Proletarius publicitus scutisque ferroque Ornatur ferro, Muros, Urbemque, Forumque, Excubiis curat. *Ennius.*

† Ipse (*Marius*) milites scribere non more majorum neque ex classibus, sed uti libido cujusque erat, Capitales plerosque; — Quo ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat: & homini potentiam quarenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus. *Salust. in Bello Jugurt.*

to make both their Lives more easy; whence it may be concluded that Citizens will always appear for Liberty, and Servants fight for Bread. 'Tis well known, that all the World over, wherever the Sword is in the hands of the *People*, it is a free Government be it of one or of many; and on the contrary, all Tyrannies are supported by *Mercenaries*: nor is there any thing peculiar in our Soil, our Air, or in our Persons to hinder the same Circumstances from producing the like Effects. It is likewise to be consider'd, that all Wars carri'd on by FREEMEN are suddenly finish'd, because, not being instigated by Want or the desire of Rapine, they are ever longing to return home to reap the Pleasure of their own Possessions, together with the agreeable Society of their Families, Relations, and Friends. But all Wars manag'd by MERCENARIES prove extremely tedious and burdensom, for they never end till the Country that employs them be exhausted of all its Treasure, which is their sole Motive of making Peace. It ought to be also remark'd, that a MILITIA of *Freeholders* is not only harder to be conquer'd than that of *Servants* or *Mercenaries*,

centuries, but must be even superior to an Army wholly compos'd of Gentlemen under an Arbitrary Monarch: for the latter, notwithstanding their Honors and Privileges, are not absolutely free, but retain'd on the behalf of Tyranny; whereas Men of Property being all disciplin'd (as we propose) and having Arms in their hands for the Defence of Liberty, upon which from their Infancy they are taught to value themselves, and to prefer it to all other Conditions (Life, Riches, and Honors without it being not only precarious, but of no other use except to prolong a miserable and infamous Slavery;) FREEMEN, I say, thus train'd, excel all others in Greatness of Soul and Courage: Nor are their haughty Spirits ever to be subdu'd, especially when they consider they are fighting for their own, and not otherwise employ'd for their Fellows than these are for them, their common Endeavours being to secure every Man's private Property. Such a Constitution, where all Persons are equally educated in Civil and Military Discipline, was never conquer'd by any Standing Armies, unless previously weaken'd by some intestine Divisions.

On the other hand, of two Free Governments 'tis possible indeed for the greatest to overcome the least; but then we find (to use the Words of a most observing Man) that the Walls and Towers of such a Government become its Funeral Piles, and that it expires in its own Flames, leaving nothing to the Conqueror but its Ashes; witness *Saguntum* when master'd by *Carthage*, and *Numantia* by *Rome*. I need not longer insist upon this Matter, and therefore shall remark in the last place, that whenever any free Empire degenerated into Tyranny, as that of *Rome* is known to have done, then Men of Property were not enjoin'd or encourag'd to serve themselves, but either permitted to find others that would go out in their room, or to pay down so much ready Money; upon which occasion says one, speaking of the *Romans*, * *They sent those to defend them in the Field, whom they would scorn to admit into their domestick Service*. Indeed some of the Emperors perceiv'd this Error, and endeavor'd to correct it, but in vain, since at the same

* Talesque sociantur armis, quales Domini habere fastidiunt. *Vegetius*, l. 1. c. 7.

time they resolv'd to continue arbitrary. But however the following Order was publish'd by GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN, and THEODOSIUS:
** We decree, say they, that in our best Troops there be no Slave enroll'd, nor any Servants out of Houses of Entertainment, nor any from Places of infamous resort, nor out of Eating-houses, the Houses of Correction, or other such infamous Fellows.* Yet we are so far from observing this Rule of listing FREEMEN only, that in the † Act now in force for regulating our MILITIA, no Man is oblig'd to serve in Person, but may send whom he pleases to appear for him, tho never so poor and weak, or ignorant of the use of Arms, and all other Arts.

7. Thus far have I discours'd of the Persons who are to constitute our MILITIA, and now I come to the Method of *training* them; after which I shall orderly

* Inter optimas lectissimorum milicium turmas, neminem è numero servorum dandum esse decernimus, nevé ex Caupona ductum, vel ex famosarum ministris tabernarum, aut ex cocorum aut pistorum numero, vel etiam eo quem obsequii deformitas Militia secernit, nec tracta de Ergastulis nomina. *Cod. Theodos. l. 7. tit. 13.*

† 14 Car. 2. §. 25

orderly proceed to their Number, Charge, Age, and other necessary Considerations. My Second Proposition therefore is, THAT ONE AFTERNOON EVERY WEEK THERE BE A PAROCHIAL EXERCISE OF ALL MALES, AS WELL SERVANTS AS FREEMEN, FROM 16 TO 40 YEARS OF AGE. Whether this be done on Mondays, or Thursdays, or Saturdays, is indifferent; and I must not forget that the *Switzers* think no Day so proper for it as SUNDAY, from the following Reasons, *viz.* First, because no other Business is interrupted by the Exercise propos'd, all Labor being already prohibited on that Day; so that Servants and their Masters have equal Leisure, none are hinder'd from going to Fairs or Markets, nor any Meetings or Bargains interrupted. Secondly, There needs not a more frequent repetition of the Parochial Exercise, no Mercenary Souldiers in the World (whatever is boasted of their Discipline) being train'd near so many Days in the Year, tho no Duty be perform'd in foul Weather. And thirdly, because after the Publick Service of GOD is over, People are thus restrain'd from idle Santring or immoral Courses, and employ'd,

ploy'd, as the *Switzers* think, in the next Work most becoming good Men, the publick service of their COUNTRY. But I prescribe no time, all that I aim at being to have as many Days in the Year appointed as will be sufficient, and also convenient. Every Saturday then, or Sunday in the Afternoon (for so I may suppose) all the Men of every Parish are to assemble on some Green or Plain, it may be where the *Buts* were of old, and instead of Tipling, Gaming, and other Diversions equally pernicious to their Minds and Bodies, they learn the use of Arms; wherein, as we see by Experience, they will be imitated by the very Children, who by that time their Age obliges them to appear in the same place, will be superior to their Fathers, and need so little Exhortation, that they cannot be prevented from acquiring this Art. To this publick Meeting will all the superannuated and experienc'd Men, all the marri'd and single Women resort, and create in those that are to exercise a noble Emulation of excelling one another in Agility or Skill, as every one is dispos'd to merit the Affection or Applause of the Spectators. This weekly Exercise

cise will not only be to all People a grateful Pastime, and relaxation from their ordinary Labor or Business, but also greatly influence their very Constitutions, by rendering them more robust, nimble, healthy, and accustom'd to all manner of Fatigue. When 'tis once settl'd, we can easily imagin how it may be perpetuated: But to effect the former, we have now a happy Occasion put into our hands of rewarding no small number of those Persons who have been employ'd in our Service abroad these several Years past: For let all the *Serjeants* of the disbanded Army, and, if their Number be not sufficient, several of the *Corporals* or other expert Souldiers, be distributed one a piece over all the Parishes of *England*, and enjoy half Pay, or what the *Parliament* shall judg more convenient for one Year; during which time they shall be oblig'd to discipline the People on the Days and Place appointed. And for their further Encouragement, let it be provided also that they may have free Licence to follow what lawful Callings they please in that Country or Town during their Lives. Thus King CHARLES the First, when he was in the good Humor

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mor of issuing out a Proclamation * to instruct and exercise the Train'd Bands, as well Officers as Soldiers, by Men experienc'd in Military Exercises, order'd that divers Low-Country Soldiers should be assign'd to the several Counties for this end. But how this good Design was put in execution every one knows; nor are we more ignorant how the MILITIA was render'd useless under his Successor, when it was enacted that single Companies should be exercis'd but † four times a Year; and this Exercise not to continue above two Days at a time, whereby they were likely to prove glorious Soldiers. Now, it is plain that all the People of England may be *parochially* exercis'd in the Use of Arms one Afternoon in every Week throughout the Year (unless prevented by bad Weather) without any Expence but the pay of one Man for the first Year only; and without any trouble at all, but on the contrary, to the great Satisfaction and Recreation of the People. Here it may be objected, that this second Proposition of Exercising all
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* Rushworth's Collect. Vol. 1. Pag. 197.

† 14 Car. 2. §. 21.

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without any distinction, seems to contradict the first, which ordains that only Men of Property be of the MILITIA. To this I answer, that there is a vast difference between training all to Arms, and having every body of the Army. I am still of the same Opinion, that none but FREEMEN be of the MILITIA; and yet I am for training the *Poor* and *Servants*. First, there's no trouble in doing it, they being to appear with their Landlords or Masters; and tho they belong not to the Number of the Companies, yet they may well be exercis'd in them. Neither is there any danger in it, seeing their Arms are only deliver'd to them on those publick Days by the *Overseers* in whose custody they are all the Week; for I suppose a little *Armory* in every Parish. Besides, the FREEMEN are always arm'd themselves, and ready to suppress the others upon the least appearance of Disorder. Thus every Person in the Kingdom becomes a Soldier; for tho a Servant changes his County, his Master, his Work, or Treatment, yet wherever he comes there he's train'd, and has no exemption from Exercise. The Design of this is three-fold;

fold; First, because when the POOR and SERVANTS become FREEMEN themselves (as, thanks to our *Liberty*, it happens every day) they may not be ignorant of Military Duties. Secondly, That if the Nation is not dispos'd to send part of their MILITIA upon any Foreign Expedition, their *Voluntiers* may not be raw undisciplin'd Fellows, but ready train'd to their hands; nor any thing wanting but to appoint 'em Officers, and to distribute 'em into Regiments. Thirdly, Upon any sudden Invasion from abroad, or in case of some Domestick Insurrection, they may be added as AUXILIARIES to the MILITIA (by which name I shall always design them hereafter) and be appointed either to serve in the Field, or to keep in Garisons, as shall be judg'd most expedient in such Circumstances. The *Romans* made use of 'em upon all these Occasions, and call'd 'em * *Subitaneous Souldiers*, or a *Tumultuary Army*, from the sudden and tumultuary manner or cause of raising them. The *Parochial Assemblies* to treat of Civil or Military Affairs, are answerable

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* *Subitarii Milites, exercitus tumultuarius.*

to the *COMITIA CURIATA* of Ancient *Rome*; and, by the way, seeing some Parishes may be very thinly inhabited, let every such be join'd to the nearest, and both be reputed as one.

8. Having thus laid the Foundation of all *Discipline* in the Parishes, my Third Proposition is, THAT THE FORCES OF EVERY HUNDRED ASSEMBLE AT THE CAPITAL THEREOF FOUR TIMES A YEAR, BOTH FOR PUBLIC EXERCISE, AND TO DISPUTE GAMES AND PRIZES. These Meetings answer in some sort the *COMITIA CENTURIATA* of the *Romans*, wherefore I shall make bold to call them *Centuriate Assemblies*; for our *Hundred*, *Cantred*, or *Wapentake*, is term'd *Centuria* by the politest Historians that wrote of our Affairs in Latin. It is then easily understood, that in those *Centuriate Assemblies* the People meet not to learn the bare handling of their Weapons, that being already perform'd in the *Parochial Exercises*; but to shew their Experience, and the Progress they have made at home. Here also they are form'd into greater Bodies, and taught all that is peculiar to such, or different from their Duty in single Com-

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panies. As for the *Games* and *Prizes*, all wise Nations have instituted the like; sometimes for promoting of Trade, or only for breeding good Horses; but generally to educate their People in the love and practice of Arms, or other Exercises tending to fit and dispose 'em to a Martial Genius, such as Racing, Fencing, Wrestling, throwing the Bar, or the like; - of which you may find various Examples in the Governments of Antient *Greece* and *Italy*. Let the *Prizes* in themselves be never so inconsiderable, yet once that Honor and Reputation are annex'd to them, Men will as eagerly contend for 'em, as if they were the highest Lucre in the World. It has been observ'd in all Ages, that nothing is so effectual to make one undertake or quit any Enterprize, as the *Commendation* or *Disgrace* attending it; yet these have fail'd sometimes, but a prospect of *Gain* seldom or never. Now our PRIZES are not without their Profit, as well as Use and Delight; for, besides the real Value of what is got, the Winner likewise stands fairest for Preferment, where Places are dispos'd according to Merit. As for the

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Charge of those GAMES it may be made very easy, an Annual Revenue being establish'd for that purpose. 'Tis so much the Interest of the *Hundreds* to concur in it, that rather than it should not be done, the Capital Town, where the Meeting is to be, will gladly raise the Sum in consideration of the brisk Trade it must occasion at those times: But all such Expences ought to be collected from the Inhabitants according to their real or personal Estates. And they'll contribute to no Tax, tho never so necessary, so willingly as to this; because in the first place it is not bestow'd, as the best part of some other Revenues, on Men of no Merit: Secondly, because it is not carri'd out of the Country: And thirdly, because every Man has his lucky Hit for the PRIZE to fall to his own share. Now, 'tis all one wherein the PRIZE consists, whether it be a Silver Chain, a Medal, or any sort of Plate; for the Disputes in other Places were not less eager to obtain Garlands of Oak or Laurel. But the most proper, in my Opinion, are some good and beautiful *Arms*; for the Conqueror, and his Heir after him, will

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will be as loth to part with them in Fight, as proud of wearing them in time of Peace. And this is indisputably more natural, and will prove far more effectual than the Policy of JULIUS CESAR, who us'd to adorn the Arms of his Men with Gold, Silver, and Gems, that they might the less tamely quit such precious things to the Enemy. There must be also a proportionable difference between the PRIZES, the same neither in Kind nor Value belonging to the Horse and Foot, or to him that hits the Mark in shooting, and to another that wins at some other Game; for I would have them of all useful sorts, and a Field-piece likewise in every Hundred to breed expert Gunners, with Magazines of Powder, Bullets, and all other requisite Ammunition in every County. Lastly, I would have it ordain'd that he who at these GAMES has got one PRIZE, should not be permitted to stand for any other at that time; and that the Names of all the Winners be carefully register'd, as well out of regard to the Reputation of particular Persons, as that the Publick may know where to find able Men in

time of need. What a Change this Institution will beget in all the Kingdom; what Trade it will occasion in the Country; and what Emulation between the Inhabitants of every *Hundred* (to speak nothing of the principal Design) can scarcely be imagin'd by such as have never experienc'd any thing like it; and yet there's nothing new or notional in all this, the same having been successfully practis'd either wholly or partly in many other Places of the World. I shall add no more of the *Hundreds*, but that every *City* being a County of it self, and other populous *Corporations*, may hold their *Centuriate Assemblies* within their own Precincts, and be not oblig'd to any Exercise abroad, except the *Annual Encampment*, whereof I am now going to treat.

9. Tho it be of the highest Importance to have all Persons in our Nation *parochially* exercis'd, and accustom'd in the *Hundreds* to muster in larger Bodies; yet they may be still ignorant of the Discipline of a compleat *Army*, to which all they have hitherto done is only subservient, as we first learn the Names of the Letters, and then to join them into Sylla-

Syllables, in order to read and understand a Book. My Fourth Proposition is therefore, THAT ENGLAND BE DIVIDED INTO THREE EQUAL DISTRICTS, CALL'D THE NORTHERN, MIDDLE, AND WESTERN CLASSES; AND THAT THE STANDING MILITIA OF THE WHOLE CONSISTING OF SIXTY THOUSAND MEN, TWENTY THOUSAND THEREOF DO ANNUALLY ENCAMP FOR THE SPACE OF THREE WEEKS IN SOME ONE OF THE CLASSES; AND SO TO SUCCEED BY TRIENNIAL ROTATION, WHICH RULE IS ALSO TO BE OBSERV'D IN THE COUNTIES PROPORTIONABLY. This military Division of the whole Kingdom may be as easily imagin'd or perform'd, as the Circuits appointed for distributing of Justice. Nor is there any Difficulty in apprehending the *Triennial Rotation*; Suppose, for example, that in the Month of *July*, 1698, the twenty thousand Men, which is the Portion of the Western *Class*, encamp somewhere in *Cornwal*, those of the middle *Class* in *July*,

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1699, at any Place in *Hartfordshire*, and those of the Northern *Class* in *July*, 1700, in some part of *Yorkshire*: Then you return again in *July*, 1701, to *Devonshire*, the Year after to *Surrey*, the sixth Year to *Camberland*, and so perpetually round. The *Rotation* in the *Counties*, or changing the Place of Encampment, is grounded upon the clearest Equity; for if the *CAMP* proves a *Trouble* (as 'tis impossible it should) to the County where it is, then Justice requires that all should bear their share of it: And if on the contrary it be highly profitable by the vast Trade it must occasion in the Consumption of Provisions, or otherwise; and considering too that ready Money will be paid for every thing, then 'tis as reasonable that all should enjoy the Benefit in their turns. As for the Order to be observ'd, to take away all occasions of Dispute, there needs no more but to cast Lots at the beginning in every *Class*, to know what Country shall be the first, second, third, and so on. But if an Objection should be rais'd by any against the Number of the *Classes*, from the Largeness of their Bounds, and consequently the great Distance

Distance in many Parts from the Place of Encampment; I answer, that 'tis not the precise Number, but the Distribution for which I contend: for the Kingdom may as well be divided into six *Classes*, each containing 10000 of the *MILITIA*, and annual *CAMPS* in any two of 'em at a time. Thus still the *Triennial Rotation* remains the same, and we have every Year 20000 Men (besides the *London-Militia*) encamp'd somewhere in the Kingdom, to the great Terror of all our Enemies, and to our own unspeakable Advantage and Reputation; we have an Army of sixty thousand *FREEMEN* to defend the whole Nation, and yet every part of it always provided with a sufficient Number, either absolutely to defend themselves, or to stop any Enemy till our whole Forces draw together. But then this wheeling Number of sixty Thousand is very inconsiderable, in comparison of many thousand *FREEMEN* more, that are always ready to relieve, to repair, to succeed, or to join them upon occasion; to speak nothing of those *exempted from Duty*, nor of the poor and servile; all which Orders of

Men are not only well disciplin'd, but oblig'd also to serve upon uncommon Emergencies. But to return to our CAMP, there our MILITIA learns the highest Perfection of Discipline, and is taught to make regular Sieges and Attacks in all Forms, to storm Castles, to fight Battles, to gain advantageous Posts, to make honourable Retreats, to intrench themselves, to forage, decamp, and, in one word, to perform all the other Duties of an Army. Now, besides the Necessity and Usefulness of all these Exercises, they will be extraordinary entertaining too. The whole Country round will come to divert themselves in this Place, and pass that Season the most agreeably of all the Year. It would be a superfluous Labor to spend more Words in Commendation of this part of our MODEL; and so I come to make one Remark concerning the Expences, after taking notice that the yearly general Exercise, prescrib'd by the Act for regulating our MILITIA, yet in force, is to continue but only the space of * four Days.

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* 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 21.

The *Assessments* laid by this same Act are so grievous as well as useless, that a long Experience, and the general Outcry against them, spare me the pains of shewing their Defects; nor will I for the same Reasons make any stop at the Abuse of calling People so often from their Business, for no other end but to fill the *Mustermaster's* Pockets; neither will I insist upon the intolerable Grievance of *Trophy-money*; all those things, as I said before, being so universally known, that every body can prescribe a proper Remedy. I propos'd three Weeks (and I still think it time enough) for the *Annual Encampment*, viz. a Fortnight for actual Service, and the other eight days, upon the supposition of three *Classes*, for coming and going; and fewer will do, if the *Classes* be six in Number. But suppose another Week be added, then 'tis plain that the Charge of a hundred and twenty thousand Men during one Month, is no more than the Pay of ten Thousand for a Year; whence every body may infer how much cheaper we may entertain four thousand FREEMEN for a Fortnight or three Weeks, than ten thousand

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sand MERCENARIES for a Twelve
 month, making all reasonable Allow-
 ance in the Difference of their Pay. The
 Expence in our MODEL then is both
 laid out to much better purpose, and
 made a great deal easier than any of this
 nature heretofore. Nay the very Re-
 volution should recommend it self to all
 Mens Approbation, seeing it comes
 with respect to the Charge but every
 third Year to the turn of each County,
 and as to the Duty much seldomer to
 particular Persons; whereas the Ro-
 tation of the Jews was monthly, and took
 in the whole People in a Year: They
 had 24000 Men under Arms every
 Month, and I don't propose twenty
 thousand for one Month in twelve. But
 the Jewish MILITIA kept Guards and
 Garisons too; Now the Children of Is-
 rael after their Names, (says the Author
 of the first Book of their Chronicles)
 the chief Fathers, and the Captains of
 Thousands and Hundreds, and their Offi-
 cers that serv'd the King in any Matter of
 the Courses, which came in and went out
 Month by Month throughout all the
 Months of the Year, of every Course were
 twenty and four thousand. There needs

more to be said on this Head, only
that the Cities of *London* and *Westmin-*
ster, with their Suburbs and Liberties,
together with the Borough of *South-*
ampt, are not to be comprehended with-
in any of the *Classes*, but to have their
own CAMP annually in some conveni-
ent Place adjacent.

So far of the Persons qualified to
serve in the MILITIA, and the sever-
al degrees of *training* them: Now we
shall speak of their AGE; for altho
this Particular is generally neglected in
Mercenary Armies, yet it has been ever
carefully consider'd in all *free* Govern-
ments: because the Design of these be-
ing to render the People happy, they
impartially assign Labor and Ease to
those Periods of Life to which they are
most suitable. Then my Fifth Proposi-
tion is, THAT EVERY FREEMAN,
WHEN HIS TURN COMES, BE OB-
LIG'D TO PERSONAL SERVICE
IN THE MILITIA FROM THE
EIGHTEENTH TO THE FIFTI-
ETH YEAR OF HIS AGE; AND
THAT ALL ABOVE OR UNDER
THESE YEARS BE EXEMPTED
FROM THE SERVICE, THO NOT
FROM

FROM THE CHARGE. The Romans oblig'd their Citizens to Arms from the * seventeenth to the six and fortieth Year of their Age, in which time every Man was to go upon the Service of the Commonwealth, (in case of need) if he were of the Horse troop or of the Foot † twenty times; and he was hinder'd by Sickneſs or otherwiſe from compleating this Number, he might be compell'd to do it until he was fifty. But all under ſeventeen or above fifty were abſolutely || excus'd, unleſs upon thoſe extraordinary Occaſions whereof we ſpoke before; and then the *Veterans* and *Emeriti* (for ſo they call the ſuperannuated Soldiers) might not only be forc'd to take up Arms, but they ordinarily came in of themſelves when

* Servius (Rex Pop. Romani) ab anno ſeptimo decimo, quod idoneos jam eſſe Reipublicæ arbitraretur Milites ſcripſiſſe dicitur à Tuberone Hiſtorico apud A. Gellium (l. 10. c. 28.) eoſque ad annum quadrageſimum ſextum juniores, ſupraque eum annum ſeniores appellatſe.

† Τὸς μὲν Ἰσπεὶς δέκα, τὸς δὲ πρὸς εἴκοσι δέκα πλείους τελεῖν κατ' ἀνάγκην, ἐν τοῖς τετραεσέσσιν αἰσιν. Polyb. de Militia Romana.

|| Lex à quinquageſimo anno Militem non cogit. Seneca de Brevitate vitæ, c. ult.

When their Country was in danger,
 and by their Valor and Experience did
 save it from Destruction. In like
 manner, when any General of great
 reputation was to go upon some glori-
 ous Expedition, several **Veterans* us'd
 to offer him their Service voluntarily,
 which was very acceptable, being most
 useful both by their Example to the rest,
 and their own personal Exploits. But
 we expect to be told, that GENTLEMEN
 will never consent their Sons should be-
 come like *Common Souldiers*. Now
 it may be easily perceiv'd, that this
 contempt upon the most honorable
 profession of *Arms* is purely accidental,
 and altogether occasion'd by the *Merce-
 nary Soldiers* abroad, who, excepting
 the Officers and a few Volunteers,
 being most of 'em the Scum of Man-
 kind, consisting of ignorant, brutish,
 mean, beggerly, and idle Fellows, that
 live only upon a scanty Hire, which is
 seldom

* Licinius quoque veteres scribebat Milites Centu-
 rionesque, & multi voluntate nomina dabant. *Livius*,
 42. c. 32. Militares homines & stipendia justa, &
 corpora ætate & assiduus laboribus confecta habere; ni-
 hil recusare tamen, quo minus operam Reipublicæ dent.
ibid. c. 33.

feldom punctually paid, they must necessarily have recourse to Stealing, Robbing, Plundering, Assassinating, and the like flagitious Practices; and what is still worse, the *Arbitrary Princes* who maintain them, must e'en let them live upon their shifts, by countenancing and conniving at these Disorders: for there is no Remedy unless they be duly paid, which is never done except in Free Governments, such as ours and *Holland*. But in a well-regulated MILITIA, Gentlemen make their Discipline to be properly an Exercise or Diversion in time of Peace; and in War they fight not only to preserve their own Liberty and Fortunes, but also to become the best Men in their Country. Nor is there any thing influenc'd by that Power which the Government justly allows them: for as they who sit quietly at home should bear their Charges when they serve 'em abroad, and not let those Losers in their private Affairs, whose Valour provides Security to theirs; so on the other hand, when it becomes their turn who are now employ'd to keep at home, they will as cheerfully contribute to maintain those who fight

ed 'em abroad, as they receiv'd their
AY before. There is no Weight at
all then in the Objection, especially since
time is lost to Young or Old: and
that there is none is very evident, for
no body will say that either Gentlemen
or Artizans lose any time in the *Paro-
chial Exercises*; all People allow more
time upon their Pleasures every Year
than is spent in the *Centuriate Assem-
blies*; and their turn in the CAMP re-
turns so seldom as to admit of nothing
to be said against it. After all, if *Gen-
tlemen* will be at the pains of fighting
for their own, (and who can doubt but
they will?) 'tis surely worth their
while to learn the Art of doing it; but
of this by and by in a more proper
Place.

II. The AGE of the Persons con-
stituting our MILITIA being thus
determin'd, we proceed next to their
COMMANDERS, who make the Sub-
ject of the Sixth Proposition, which is,
THAT ALL THE COMMISSION'D
OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA
HAVE REAL OR PERSONAL E-
STATES PROPORTIONABLE TO
THEIR SEVERAL DEGREES; AND
THAT

THAT ALL PERSONS THOUGHT
RIGHTLY QUALIFI'D IN EVERY
COUNTY SUCCEED ONE AN-
OTHER BY TRIENNIAL RO-
TATION, THE LORDS LIEUTE-
NANTS ONLY EXCEPTED, WHO
BEING GENERAL OFFICERS
ARE NOT TO BE CHANG'D
WHILE THE KING IS PLEAS'D
TO CONTINUE 'EM IN THEIR
POSTS. The Reasons for qualifying the
OFFICERS by their *Property* are the
same with those I have offer'd under the
first Proposition for admitting FREEMEN
only to serve in the MILITIA, which
spares me the Labour of Repetition
in this place. As for the *Rotation* of Offi-
cers propos'd, it is grounded upon uncon-
tested Experience and Equiry. All good
Politicians have ever allow'd that to be
the best and noblest Government where
Men learn alternately to *command* and
to *obey*; because at this rate they are not
only fitted to serve their Country upon
all occasions, but likewise made compe-
tent Judges of the Merit or Miscar-
riage of others. This was the known
Practice of the *Romans*, whose *General*
Officers were, in the ordinary Course of
their

their Government, annually elected, no body thinking it a Disgrace to serve under him this Year, whom he had commanded the last, nor to be afterwards an inferior Officer in that Army whose Exploits were the Effects of his Conduct before. And truly this sort of *Rotation* seems to me a Duty requir'd by the Light of Nature: for keeping an equal Balance between those of the same Qualifications contributes above all things to keep 'em in Peace and Friendship. If the *Offices* shall be thought honorable, pleasant, or profitable, no body envies another, because they are all to enjoy 'em in their turns: And if on the other hand they should be found a Charge or Trouble, then doubtless every one ought to bear his share of the Burden; nor is it at all material, whether they be elected by *Lot*, or successively appointed by the *KING*. The *PEERS*, who are commonly the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, are by this *Model* restor'd to all the Privileges that were truly good and excellent in their first Institution, the immediate Command of

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all the FREEMEN in England under the KING being their proper Charge; and the eternal Fame which some of their Ancestors have worthily acquir'd, is wholly owing to the glorious Actions they perform'd in this Quality on the behalf of their Country; and not in the least to that immoderate Power they might then exercise over the PEOPLE, who, if they record any *Nobleman* upon this account, do it as an Example they execrate and abhor, and not out of Gratitude or Love, as in the former case. To the only Objection I apprehend against this Proposition, which is, that it seems to limit his *Majesty's* Authority, I answer, That no Man can trust him with a greater Power of doing Good (for he would neither accept nor use any other) than I am willing to do; seeing in the Opinion I entertain of his Justice, Valor, and Wisdom, I believe myself not inferior to any: which Declaration ought to be esteem'd the more sincere, inasmuch as I never had nor expect any particular Favor from him besides *Liberty* and *Safety*,
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the common Blessings of his Government. He knows already that all the Power he has is bounded by Laws, and we are convinc'd by Experience, that he refuses no Limitation to it when he judges it to be for the Advantage of the Nation. Thus have the Act for *Triennial Parliaments*, and that of *regulating Trials in cases of High Treason* (to mention no more) pass'd by his Authority; whereas no Prince that design'd to injure his Subjects, would ever give his Assent to either of them. A Person of his Sagacity and Prudence will not easily be deluded by the mean Obsequiousness of any MINISTERS, who make their Court with gratifying what they take to be their Master's *Inclinations*; and, without any regard to his or the Nation's real Interest, lay out all their Efforts to gain him some *invidious Point*: for it is a settl'd Maxim with most of this Race, That ALL KINGS WHATSOEVER WOULD BE ABSOLUTE; presuming on which pernicious Doctrine they bring a certain Ruin on the Affairs of *Printers*, if not happily prevented by
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their own timely Fall, which commonly happens in *Free Governments*. But a good King, instead of lessening his own Power by Concessions of this nature, gains more Security, Respect, and Glory, than could be obtain'd by the most numerous Armies. I cannot upon this occasion but relate the remarkable Story of THEOPOMPUS King of Sparta, who, as VALERIUS MAXIMUS* writes, when he first order'd that the EPHORI, or Overseers, should be created at Lacedemon, to be such a Restraint upon the Kings there, as the Tribunes were upon the Consuls at Rome, the Queen complain'd to him, that by this means he transmitted the Royal Authority greatly diminish'd to his Children:

* Cum primus instituisset (Theopompus Spartanorum Rex) ut Ephori Lacedaemonie crearentur, ita futuri Regiae potestati oppositi quemadmodum Romae Consulari Imperio Tribuni plebis sunt objecti; atque illi uxor dixisset, id egisse illum ut filijs minorem potestatem relinqueret; Relinquam, inquit, sed diuturniorem. Optime quidem; enim demum tuta est potentia, quae viribus suis modum imponit. Theopompus igitur, legitimis regnum vinculis constringendo, quo longius à Licentia retraxit hoc propius ad benevolentiam Civium admovit. L. 4. c. 1. de externis, §. 8.

aven: I leave it indeed less, answer'd
he, but more lasting. And this, adds
our Author, was excellently said; for
that Power only is safe, which is li-
mitted from doing Hurt. THEO-
PHILUS therefore, continues he, by
confining the Kingly Power within
the Bounds of the Laws, did recom-
mend it by so much to the People's Af-
fection as he remov'd it from being
Arbitrary. But, lest I might seem
to digress, I demand, What Power
is taken out of the KING's hand
by our Proposition? For in the pre-
sent Militia the Colonels, Majors,
Captains, and other Officers are to
*be appointed by the * Lord Lieute-*
nant; and I would have 'em chosen
by his Majesty himself, or whom he
pleases to depute, but only qualify'd
to serve their Prince and Country
more effectually: Nor can the No-
mination be any where more safely
lodg'd than in the KING for his
Life, provided the Act restrains it to
Election under his Successors, who
will enjoy all reasonable Power, since
they

* 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 2.

they may appoint or continue the General Officers at their pleasure. And, besides the foregoing Considerations, nothing can render his present Majesty more easy than this part of the Model, seeing that by it he has an admirable Opportunity of gratifying all Sides, and disobliging none; for if he should put any TORIES in Commission, the WHIGS would presently cry, that he was committing himself solely into their Enemies Hands; and should the WHIGS be the only Persons intrusted, the TORIES would justly continue still disaffected: Whereas on the foot of the Rotation propos'd he may fairly employ those of both Parties duly qualify'd to serve their Country. And indeed I may venture to affirm, that this impartial Distribution of Honor and Profit is the only way possible to heal our, or the Divisions of any other Government: for such as are not admitted to Confidence and Preferment, are most of 'em offended upon no other score; and they who are in possession of those Advantages will be

always for retaining and engrossing them, either by the Exclusion or absolute Ruin of their Adversaries. But as in *War* the KING has usually protected all his Subjects, so I hope in *Peace* he'll abolish their infamous *Distinctions*, and render *England* the Glory and Terror of the World.

12. The most excellent *Institution* imaginable cannot be of any considerable Duration, unless extraordinary Care be taken about the Education of *YOUTH*, which is shamefully neglected in this Age; for we see how few are at those Pains and Expence in forming the Manners of their own Children, as they freely allow to breed up Setting-dogs and race-horses, or on things altogether frivolous and indifferent. The Effects of this Disorder are visible enough every where, and were carefully prevented in *wise Governments*. All *Legislators* had a particular regard in their Laws to the breeding of the Young, well knowing that such as they were, such the *Government* would prove to be.
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What's amiss in this respect, our selves is more easily discern'd than reform'd. I shall therefore this time content my self with offering a Remedy to what immediately concerns our Subject, and the Seventh Proposition of the Scheme shall be, THAT ALL NOT UNDER THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN YEARS, OR THAT SHALL BE BORN HEREAFTER, BE UNCAPABLE OF HOLDING ANY POST OF HONOR OR PROFIT UNDER THE GOVERNMENT (EXCEPTING IN THE PROFESSIONS OF DIVINITY, LAW, AND PHYSICK) UNLESS THEY FIRST QUALIFY THEMSELVES BY SERVING TWO CAMPAIGNS BY LAND OR SEA. By this Proposition none already arriv'd to the compleat Age of *Manhood* are excluded from bearing Offices; and they who are now *Eighteen*, are only kept back till they are Twenty, before which time they could scarcely expect Employment even as Matters now stand. I cannot therefore foresee that

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Opposition will be made to this part of the *Model*, seeing it neither affects them who are actually engag'd in business, nor such as stand Candidates for Preferment: For the blame of being unqualifi'd, as propos'd, ought to be attributed to a Defect in our *Constitution*, and not to any want of *Merit* in particular Persons. The *YOUTH* themselves (if we can imagin 'em so basely dispos'd) are not in a Condition to obstruct it; and if it happens to pass, it becomes familiar to those who shall be born hereafter as the other parts of our Government. There remain then no adversaries in all probability, unless some People should envy the happy effects of it to their *Country*, which may better judg impossible than *SOLON* that no *Parricide* could be perpetrated in his Republick, which is the Reason that he ordain'd no punishment for this horrid Crime: The most unthinking among us must perceive that no other Method can be so effectual to render our *Country* famous, and our *Government* lasting. When the *Young Men* (of all
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others the most ambitious of Glory and Honor) are once convinc'd that this is the only Road to Preferment, they will timely qualify themselves, and so all Posts will be supply'd with Persons of known Experience. Whoever has read the preceding part of this Piece, cannot mistake my Sense about the *Land Campaigns*; but as to the *SEA*, it is that is two Summers aboard any Man of War in our ordinary Guard or that goes twice in any Vessel into the *Baltick*, *Mediterranean*, or the *West-Indies*, and once to any part of the *East-Indies*, shall be deem'd rightly qualify'd. It signifies nothing whether it be in War or Peace; for the principal Design is to acquaint 'em with the Nature of this Service so important to our Island, and to give 'em an opportunity of seeing Foreign Countries in order to put the true Value upon their own. Whosoever that has thus past a part of his time is afterwards a Member of the House of *Lords* or *Commons*, of the *Admiralty* or *Navy*, he must necessarily speak more pertinently, and be

asily deceiv'd in the usual Disputes, whether any Miscarriage is occasion'd by Treachery or Accident; he can discern the Guilt or Merit of the Seamen; he can judg of Victualling, Maning, or otherwise fitting out our Ships; and determin the proper Seasons for every Action far better than another that never was at Sea unless in a Ferry-boat to *Calais* or the *Bril*. We know likewise by the great Care the KING has taken to supply his Ships with able Masters, and by what we may observe in the Accomplishments of several Persons who sail'd in them, that there is not a properer place of learning most part of the *Mathematicks*, there being no doubt to be made about the particular Art of *Navigati- on*. And to speak no more of the Marine (for to hint these things is enough) when *Gentlemen* are so long debar'd all their ordinary Land-Exercises, they have an excellent opportunity of studying *Geography* or *Astronomy*, and mastering the best part of Antient and Modern *History*: for they must read

something in their own defence against *Idleness*, the most painful Condition in the World; and they may keep Books as conveniently in their Cabins, as in their Studies at home. After a considerable number are thus initiated at Sea, while others by Land make the ordinary Tour of *Holland, Germany, Italy, and France*; and that several, perhaps have travell'd both by Land and Sea, no Government in the World can be so well suppli'd with Learn'd, Polite, and able Men to fill all sorts of Stations. The *Romans* did after this manner educate their Children from their very Cradles in the Theory and Practice of those things wherein they were afterwards to make a glorious Figure in the Service of their Country. They, to whom the particular Inspection of the YOUTH was committed, were not Persons retir'd, and strangers to Business; but Men of nice Breeding and that understood Mankind as well as the Liberal Arts and Sciences. They inform'd their Pupils (to whom they were rather Companions

ons than Masters) in the Duties of grown Age, before they arriv'd to it; and, having no Interest to keep 'em more ignorant than themselves, they did not waste their time by teaching 'em any barbarous Jargon, trifling Notions, or useless Speculations, which they must unlearn again if they would be understood, or not be counted ridiculous when they come abroad into the World. *The Young Men*, says *PLINY, were early accusom'd to Arms in the Field, that they might learn by obeying to command, and to act the part of a General while they follow'd one. Aspiring likewise to Civil Dignities, they stood by the Door of the Senate House, and were Spectators of the Publick Assembly before they were Members of it. The Young Gentlemen also us'd to chuse to themselves Patrons of the most eminent Persons in the City, whose great Actions they diligently observ'd, and propos'd

* Adolescentuli statim Castrensibus stipendiis imbuantur, ut imperare parendo, duces agere dum sequuntur, assuescerent: Inde Honores petitori assistebant curiæ foribus, & concilii publici spectatores, antequam consortes erant. *Epist. 14. l. 8.*

propos'd not so much to imitate, as to exceed them. Every Morning they went to their Levée, and thence accompani'd them to the FORUM and other publick Places, where they patiently bore Hunger, Thirst, and all manner of Fatigue, that they might attain to the highest pitch of *Eloquence*, and be thoroughly vers'd in *Civil Affairs*. When the Business of the Day was over, they dutifully waited home upon their Patrons, and these again on their part took abundance of care to improve the *Youth*. They were as cautious to give 'em any ill Examples in Words or Action, as to their own Children. They entertain'd them with the greatest familiarity, and the general Subject of their Discourse was about framing good Laws, and the several kinds of Government; in their own, they taught 'em wherein consisted the * *Magistrates Power*, and *the Liberty of the People*; they explain'd the Art of War, and read Divine Lectures

† Quæ Vis magistratibus, quæ cæteris Libertas.
Id. ibid.

tures concerning the Excellency of Vertue; never forgetting to inculcate upon every occasion the Love of their Country as the Foundation of all their future Actions at Home or Abroad: Nor did the Conversation want facetious and pleasant Intervals to make it easier to both sides. This was the true Source, not only of that unparallel'd Friendship, Valour, Prudence, Justice, Eloquence, and Generosity wherein that bravest People of the Universe excel'd; but even the preeminence of their *Historians* above all the Modern proceeds from hence: For the *Young Gentlemen* being so intimately acquainted with the Actions of their *Patrons*, and writing down their remarkable Sayings, or copying their most finish'd Compositions, they afterwards frequently mention'd or quoted them; so that all the best and vertuous Examples became commonly known. But of this Subject I shall speak more copiously in my *BRUTUS*, or *THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY AND TYRANNY* which I am now digesting, with a Design, whenever
finish'd,

finish'd, to publish it in * *Latin* and *English*. In this Work I endeavour to copy the People whereof I treat, and will confirm my Subject with the most beautiful Passages of the Antients, as well as illustrate it by Modern Examples, both of the Dead and the Living. As to the latter I shall make little mention of the worse sort, thinking to dishonor 'em more by silencing their Names, should my History last to Posterity, than by relating their infamous Actions; and if my Book miscarries, they are but in obscurity still. That the number of extraordinary Men is very small in our Age, we need not desire a clearer Demonstration than to find so few Histories tolerably pen'd; for 'tis want of Matter, and consequently of Encouragement, but not of Ability, which makes our Writers so much inferior to those of past times, when CICEERO himself courts to be immortaliz'd by the Pen

* *BRUTUS*, five Libertatis & Tyrannidis Historia.

The Militia Reform'd.

63

Pen of LUCCEIUS. PLINY, who liv'd in the decay of the Roman Empire and Manners, tells us what Honors were formerly confer'd on those who wrote the Histories of Emperors or Great Persons: || But at this time, says he, *this Custom, as a good and excellent thing, is quite abolish'd; for since we left off to do commendable Actions, we think it impertinent to be commended.* This Digression (if any thing that makes for my purpose may be so call'd) is intended to excite our Youth to pursue Fame by noble and useful Performances. TULLY, whose Eloquence

† Ardeo cupiditate incredibili, neque, ut ego auctor, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur, & celebretur tuis. — Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quandam immortalitatis rapit: sed etiam illa cupiditas, ut vel auctoritate testimonii tui, vel indicio Benevolentiae, vel suavitatis Ingenii, vivi perfruamur. *Epist. Famil. l. 5. Ep. 12.*

‡ Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel singulorum Laudes vel urbium scripserant, aut Honoribus aut Pecunia ornare: nostris vero temporibus, ut alia speciosa & egregia, ita hoc in primis exolevit. Nam postquam desimus facere Laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. *L. 3. Ep. 21.*

F

quence and Quality of a *Roman* Senator made him an Advocate for Kings, disdains not to acknowledge that he wrote the best part of his incomparable Works to reform * and instruct the *Youth*; which in that declining State of the Commonwealth, was strangely corrupted. The two Years of Action which I add to their Sedentary Studies, will not, I hope, seem tedious, if in their reading they observe that the *Romans* were to serve ten times to become capable of certain Posts, seven times for others, and four e're they could fill any place almost in the Government.

13. Hitherto the whole Discourse related to our own DEFENCE against Invasions; but sometimes we are oblig'd to transport Armies beyond the Seas, either to ASSERT our own Rights against insolent and

treache-

* Quod enim munus Reipublicæ afferre majus meliusne possumus, quam si docemus atque erudimus Juventutem? his præsertim moribus atque temperibus, quibus ita prolapsa est, ut omnium opibus refrenanda ac coercenda sit, &c. *De Divinatione* l. 2. c. 2.

treacherous Enemies, or else to ASSIST our Friends and Allies. That such Occasions may frequently happen, none will go about to deny; yet Multitudes (I'm afraid) will dislike the Methods I would have observ'd in the management of our *Foreign Wars*. But my Assertions are not the less solid because some People are Cowards, and others now unaccustom'd to what their Ancestors successfully practis'd heretofore: Nor ought the rest of the *Scheme*, should any reject this part of it, be counted the more weak or inconsistent. So my Eighth Proposition is, THAT THE MAIN BODY OF OUR ARMIES ABROAD BE WHOLLY COMPOS'D OF THE FREE MILITIA, THE ONE HALF TO BE ANNUALLY RELIEV'D BY SUCCESSIVE LEVIES IN THE CLASSES; AND BE ALWAYS CORROBORATED WITH A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF AUXILIARIES. We prov'd before under the First Proposition, that FREEMEN will fight better than

SERVANTS, that all Wars carri'd on by the former are quickly finish'd, that wherever the Sword is in their Hands that Government is free, and that they are consequently disus'd or discourag'd from bearing Arms by such as design to set up a Tyrannical Power. Now, all these Reasons should prevail with us to send our MILITIA of *Citizens* abroad instead of *Mercenaries*. The *Romans* in point of War are the best Example, with respect to Success or Safety; that any Nation can imitate; and while they strictly adher'd to this Rule, they were both invincible themselves, and no People on Earth could resist the Force of their Arms. But when their Antient Orders were neglected or abolish'd, then they became an easy Prey to all that invaded them. Thus the *Eastern Nations*, who infinitely superior in Numbers and Territories, yet by reason of their luxurious living, and that they plac'd their chief Strength in mighty Bodies of *Mercenaries*, they were quickly subdu'd by the MILITIA of *Italy*; nor would the Inhabitants

of that Country perform less at this present time, were they under the same Discipline. The *Gauls*, *Germans*, and *Brittons* were more valiant, it's true, than the *Asiatic* Nations, and better order'd (for they were a kind of *MILITIA*) but they were also finally subdu'd and broken by the *Roman* Legions. On the other hand, when the Sword was taken from the *Citizens* or *Freemen*, and put into the Hands of *Servants* by the Arbitrary Emperors who durst not trust Men of Property, the Oriental Countries not only shook off the *Roman* Empire; but likewise the *Lombards* and *Goths* invaded *Italy* it self; and tho not exceeding the old *Gauls* and *Germans* in Courage or Conduct, yet they absolutely conquer'd the Conquerors of the World. In short, the *Romans* lost their *LIBERTY* and *PROPERTY*, and with them all that ardent *LOVE* to their Country, which made them so freely bleed in its Defence before. And indeed no Man of sense ever meant any other thing by that Inclination for one's Country,

try, so much celebrated in the Works of Orators and Poets, but only the good Government of it. *Dimicare pro Aris & Foci* was a synonymous Expression in the mouth of a Roman, for *pugnare pro Patria*. Hence it is that BRUTUS reproaching CICERO for the servile Court he made to OCTAVIUS, speaks to him in these Terms: † *Do you believe then, says he, that we receive Security when our Lives are spar'd? Or how can we accept of the latter, if first we must part with our Liberty and Dignity? Do you think that to be safe, it is enough to live at Rome? The Thing and not the Place can only put me in that condition.* And afterwards he adds, * *Either I shall reduce those to their Duty who oppress their Country, or remove to a great*

† Videmur ergo tibi Salutem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus? Quam, si prius dimittimus Dignitatem & Libertatem, qui possumus accipere? Aut tu Romæ habitare, id putas incolumem esse? Res non locus oportet præslet illuc mihi? *Lib. ad Brut. Ep. 16.*

* Aut longe a servientibus abero, mihi quæ esse judicabo Romam, ubicunque liberum esse licebit. *Id. ibid.*

great distance from you that are willing to be Slaves, and, wherever I may be free, there think my self in Rome. We likewise are taught to love our Country above all others, valuing our selves every moment upon being ENGLISH MEN; and that most deservedly, for we cannot speak too magnificently of our Felicity. But we never mean our Soil or Climate, seeing these are much excel'd by several others in the World; therefore it must be our Government that makes the Scale heavier on our side. A partial Affection to the Land where we first drew our Breath, abstracted from other Considerations, is but a childish Prejudice, not less ridiculous than that of some elder Persons, who think it an extraordinary Blessing to be laid in the same Graves with their Relations. The Romans then were always possess'd with a hearty Kindness for their Country; and being earnestly desirous of returning to it in Peace, as well as certain of receiving the Rewards and Applause due to their Merit, they perform'd Wonders abroad.

The

The Reason why no other People did as much is, because the Government of no other Place was so well constituted. Here was no difference between the *Citizen* and the *Statesman*, between the *Husbandman* and the *Soldier*; whence the Minds of the Inhabitants were enlarg'd to that degree, that they became capable of designing and effecting every thing. Their KNOWLEDGE and POLITENESS made them sensible of the Excellency of their Constitution, which still encreas'd their Fondness of it and render'd 'em so valiant to preserve it. Their City and Territory were divided into several TRIBES not unlike our Counties, and their Assemblies call'd COMITIA TRIBUTA. Their People again were distributed into six Classes, beside the lesser Divisions of *Centuries*, and *Curie* or *Parishes*. Now, their MILITIA going always abroad by Rotation out of the Tribes and Colonies together not seldom with their Allies whenever they were beaten (as in the dubious Events of War it must happen sometimes) they were immediately

mediately repair'd; and so one Army constantly sent after another, which could not fail where the People were all disciplin'd, till no Force whatsoever was able to stand before them. But when a *Mercenary* Army is once routed and dispers'd, then all is irrecoverably lost, because that either you cannot presently take the Field again, or you only oppose the Enemy with undisciplin'd Multitudes. Now we may easily conceive why a *MILITIA* of *Freemen* are for venturing a Battle whenever they are favor'd with an Opportunity of doing it, whereas *MERCENARIES* are observ'd to decline fighting as much as they can; for, to speak nothing of what we said before concerning their different Dispositions, the first are sure of making good their Losses by a *Rotation* of their Fellows, and the latter wait for Advantages, because the Loss of one Battle is often enough to ruin them. From all that is premis'd, I think I may conclude, that to make successive Levies of our own *FREE MILITIA* out of the several Parts of

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Eng.

The Militia Reform'd.

England, and corroborated with some **AUXILIARY REGIMENTS**, is the best Method of waging the Wars abroad, whether we design to bring 'em to a speedy Period, or to spread wider the Terror of our Fame and Arms. The Names of all Persons capable of Military Duties in every County must be carefully registr'd to facilitate the *Rotation*, as was done in the *Roman Tribes*, where every Man was sworn (both in regard of the Charge and Service) to conceal neither the Name, Age, Condition, or Quality of any in his Family, that every one, who was able, might by his Purse or Person contribute to the Publick Good. The Regiments may likewise be denominated from the *Countries* or Places that send them, which will create an Emulation in the several Parts of the Kingdom to outdo each other's Actions. They will be as eager sometimes for regaining the Honor which one lost, as fearful to lose what the other won. Thus Men of ARTS and ARMS will be the very same Species among us, whereas now they are extremely different.

different in most Parts of the World; for the former are generally *Cowards*, and the latter *barbarous* and *rude*. From all these Considerations, I cannot be perswaded that any Man of *Property* will refuse to go in his turn (which can seldom happen) on foreign Service. If he hires a mean Person to supply his Place, this is raising a *Mercenary Army*, whereby he makes his *Man* become his *Master*. And how little soever FREEMEN think of the matter, while such Creatures are out of the Kingdom, yet they'll find 'em wonderful troublesome on their Return, should there be no other Difficulty but that single one of disbanding 'em. 'Tis strange what a Confusion very small Numbers of 'em produce in a Country, as has been abundantly demonstrated by the Ingenious Author of the unanswerable *Argument against a Standing Army*. The few Soldiers that return'd in King CHARLES the First's time from an unsuccessful Voyage to *Cadiz*, were not presently disbanded as they ought to have been, but quarter'd up and down in

several Parts of the Kingdom ; And a Great Person, who was an Eye-witness tells us, “ That these || Soldiers broke out into great Disorders ; they MASTER'D the People, disturb'd the Peace of Families, and the Civil Government of the Land ; there were frequent Robberies, Burglaries, Rapes, Rapines, Murders, and barbarous Cruelties ; unto some PLACES they were sent as a PUNISHMENT ; and wherever they came, there was a general Outcry. The High-ways were dangerous, and the Markets unfrequented ; they were a Terror to all, and undoing to many. I said before, that every *Roman Freeman* was oblig'd to bear Arms (if need were) twenty times from the seventeenth to the six and fortieth Year of his Age ; that they were excus'd from Duty after fifty ; and that in case of extraordinary Necessity the old Soldiers might be compel'd if they did not give in their Names when desir'd, but that they

they did for the most part voluntarily offer their Service to their Country. This whole matter, with several other admirable Effects of their Discipline, is represented to the life in the Speech of a Farmer to LICINIUS a Roman General. When the War was declar'd against PERSEUS King of Macedonia, several Veterans were list'd and came in freely; but some of 'em were displeas'd, that they should be plac'd in any lower Order than they had formerly possess'd. This occasioning a Difference between the *Consuls* and the *Tribunes* of the People, out steps the Countryman, and bespeaks the Assembly in the following manner:

" * I am SPURIUS LIGUSTINUS, O ROMANS, of the *Crustumina* Tribe, and originally a *Sabin*. My Father left me a little spot of Land, with a small House, in which I was born and bred, and I dwell there at this time. As soon

* Spurius Ligustinus tribus Crustumina ex Sabinis sum oriundus, Quirites. Pater mihi jugerum agri reliquit, & parvum tugurium in quo natus educatusque sum; hodieque ibi habito. Quum primum

" soon as I was of Age, he gave me
 " in Marriage his own Brother
 " Daughter, who, excepting her
 " Chastity, and that she was free
 " born, brought me no other Dow
 " ry; yet fruitful enough to suppl
 " a richer Family. We have th
 " Sons and two Daughters, the lat
 " ter both marri'd. Of our Son
 " four are grown Men, and the o
 " ther two yet Striplings. I fir
 " bore Arms in the Consulship o
 " **PUBLIUS SULPITIUS**, and
 " **CAIUS AURELIUS**. I was tw
 " Years a private Soldier in that Ar
 " my which was transported into
 " *Macedonia* against King **PHILIP**
 " The third Year **FLAMINIUS**, in
 " regard of my Merit assign'd me
 " the tenth Division of the Spear-men

PHILIP

mum in aetatem veni, pater mihi uxorem fratris fil
 filiam dedit: quæ secum nihil attulit præter liber
 tatem pudicitiamque, & cum his fecunditatem
 quanta vel in diviti domo satis esset. Sex filii nobis
 duæ filiae sunt; utraq; jam nuptæ. Filii quatuor
 togas viriles habent, duo prætextati sunt. Miles
 sum factus, P. Sulpitio, C. Aurelio Consulibus. In
 eo exercitu qui in Macedoniam est transportatus
 biennium miles gregarius fui adversus Philippum
 regem: tertio anno virtutis causa mihi T. Quintius
 Flaminius decimum ordinem hastatum assignavit.

Devi

PHILIP and the *Macedonians* being conquer'd, when we were brought back into *Italy* and disbanded, I went immediately a Voluntier under MARCUS PORTIUS the Consul into *Spain*. That of all Generals living, he was the most nice Considerer and Judg of Merit, is known to every one who has been any considerable time in the Field under him or other Commanders: Now, he thought me worthy to preside over the first Order of the first Century of the Spearmen. I went the third time a Voluntier in that Army which was sent against the *Etolians* and King ANTIOCHUS, when MANLIUS ACILIUS created
" me

Devicto Philippo Macedonibusque, quum in Italiam portati ac dimissi essemus, continuo Miles voluntarius cum M. Portio Consule in Hispaniam sumus profectus. Neminem omnium Imperatorum, qui vivant, acriorem virtutis spectatorem ac judicem fuisse sciunt, qui & illum & alios duces longa militia experti sunt. Hic me Imperator dignum iudicavit cui primum hastatum prioris centuriæ assignaret. Tertio iterum voluntarius miles factus sum in eum exercitum, qui adversus Etoles & Antiochum regem est missus. A Man. Acilio mihi primus princeps

" me first Commander of the
 " Century. But ANTIOCH
 " being expel'd, and the *Etolians*
 " duce'd, we return'd into *Italy*,
 " there I serv'd two of those Co
 " pagns to which the Legions
 " annually oblig'd. Afterwards
 " was twice a Soldier in *Spain*
 " once under the Pretor QUINT
 " FULVIUS FLACCUS, and
 " gain under TIBERIUS SE
 " PRONIUS GRACCHUS. I
 " brought home by FLACCUS
 " mong the rest of those whom
 " had chosen for their Courage
 " grace his Triumph; and return
 " back into that Province at the
 " quest of TIBERIUS GRA
 " CHUS. I was Captain of the fir
 " Company of the Regiment for
 " time

princeps prioris centuriæ est assignatus. Expe
 rege Antiocho, subactis Ætolis, reportati sumus
 Italiam: & deinceps bis, quæ annua merebant
 giones, stipendia feci. Bis deinde in Hispania
 litavi, semel Q. Fulvio Flacco, iterum Ti. Semp
 nio Graccho Prætor. A Flacco inter ceteros, qu
 virtutis causa secum ex provincia ad triumphu
 deducebar, deductus sum. A Ti. Graccho rog
 tus, in provinciam ij. Quater intra paucos ann
 primus

times within the space of a few
Years: I was by my Generals re-
warded four and thirty times for
my Valour: I receiv'd six Civic
Crowns for saving the Lives of
so many Citizens: I have taken
Pay, in a word, two and twenty
times in the Army, and am now
above fifty Years old. But if I
had not compleated the Number
appointed by Law, nor were to
be excus'd from Duty by reason
of my Age; yet since in my own
room I could give you, LICINI-
us, four Soldiers, it were just I
should be discharg'd. But I would
have all this understood only of
the goodness of my Cause, were I
dispos'd to plead it; for as long as
any

primum pilum duxi: quater & tricies virtutis cau-
sa donatus ab Imperatoribus sum: sex civicas coro-
nas accepi: viginti duo stipendia annua in exercitu
emerita habeo: & major annis sum quinquaginta.
Quod si mihi nec stipendia omnia emerita essent,
nec dum aetas vacationem daret, tamen quum qua-
tuor milites pro me uno vobis dare, P. Licini, pos-
sem, equum erat me dimitti. Sed hæc pro causa
mea dicta accipiatis velim: ipse me, quoad quis-
quam

H

“ any General judges me an able Sol-
 “ dier, I shall never excuse my self.
 “ What Post the Tribunes will assign
 “ me, lies in their own breasts. And,
 “ that none in the Army exceed me in
 “ Courage, shall be my endeavour:
 “ for, that it has been always so,
 “ my superior Officers, and such as
 “ serv’d along with me, are wit-
 “ nesses. Now altho, Fellow-Sol-
 “ diers, you claim to your selves
 “ the right of Appeal; yet since
 “ during the whole course of your
 “ Youth you never did any thing a-
 “ gainst the Authority of the Senate
 “ or Magistrates, ’tis fit that you
 “ now also pay Obedience to the Se-
 “ nate and Consuls, esteeming all
 “ those

quam qui exercitus scribit, idoneum militem judi-
 cabit, nunquam sum excusaturus. Ordinem quo
 me dignum judicent Tribuni militum, ipsorum est
 potestatis: ne quis me virtute in exercitu præstet,
 dabo operam; ut semper ita fecisse me, & Impera-
 tores mei, & qui una stipendia fecerunt, testes
 sunt. Vos quoque æquum est, Commilitones,
 etsi appellationis vobis usurpatis jus, quum adol-
 centes nihil adversus Magistratum Senatufq; autori-
 tatem usquam feceritis, nunc quoque in potestate
 Senatus ac Consulum esse, & omnia honesta loca
 ducere, quibus Rempubicam defensuri sitis. Li-
 vius l. 42. c. 34.

“ those Posts to be honorable,
“ wherein you have an opportunity
“ of defending your Country. Hav-
ing thus harangu’d, the *Consul*, after
commending him with many words,
led him out of the Assembly into the
Senate, where he receiv’d the Thanks
of the House; and he was by the
Military Tribunes prefer’d accord-
ing to his desert: whereupon the o-
ther Centurions quitted their Ap-
peal, and readily compli’d with the
pleasure of their Superiors.

¶ 14. All Men would live some-
where eternally if they could, and
they affect to become Immortal even
here on Earth. To have their Names
perpetuated, was the true Spring of
several great Mens Actions; and for
that only end, have they patiently
undergon all manner of Toil and
Danger. But this Inclination never
discovers it self so plainly, as in the
care Men take of their Posterity.
Some are content to live Beggars all
their Days, that their Children after
them may be rich: for they look up-
on these as their own Persons multi-
pli’d by Propagation; whence such

as had none themselves, adopted the Children of others to bear their Names. The Legislator of the *Israelites*, as well as he of *Sparta*, had a peculiar regard to this natural Desire, which in no Country must be neglected for Reasons upon which need not insist at this time: Wherefore the Ninth Proposition is, THAT NO MAN BE OBLIG'D TO GO UPON ANY FOREIGN EXPEDITION DURING ONE YEAR AFTER HIS MARRIAGE; NOR ALL THE SONS OF ANY MAN AT ONCE; NOR AN ONLY SON EVER, UNLESS HE'S WILLING HIMSELF. The Design of this Proposition is made so plain already, that, without more to do, I may pass to the Tenth and last of our Scheme, which is, THAT ALL LEVIES PERMITTED TO FOREIGN STATES, IN THIS KINGDOM, OR ANY FORCES LENT TO THEM, DO ENTIRELY CONSIST OF AUXILIARIES; AND THAT NO FREE MAN HAVE LEAVE TO SERVE ABROAD UNLESS AS A VOLUN-

TIER

TO QUALIFY HIMSELF
FOR EMPLOYMENT AT HOME.
The Reasonableness of this Proposi-
tion is likewise sh^e evident from what
went before, that it wants no larger
Commentary. I could add here se-
veral other Particulars, But they'l
come to be establish'd of course, if
this SCHEME prevails wholly, or
for the best part. I shall therefore
write nothing now concerning the
Methods of Lifting or Disbanding,
of Paying, or Clothing, nor of Re-
wards or Punishments; tho with re-
spect to the last, I cannot omit one
pleasant Passage: for the Romans a-
mong divers kinds of Penalties, such
as Fine or Imprisonment, us'd upon
certain Occasions to * let a Soldier
Blood, as if it had been Madness or
Folly in him to commit such Faults,
and that he wanted Physick more
than Correction.

15. If

* Fuit hæc quoque antiquitus militaris animad-
versio, jubere ignominie causa militi venam solvi
et sanguinem dimitti; -- ut non tam pœna quam me-
dicina videretur. A. Gellius, l. 10. c. 8.

15. If this *Scheme of Reforming the MILITIA* be so intelligible and coherent, as I flatter my self it may, it would be a superfluous Labor, and no Complement upon the Reader's Sagacity, to remark distinctly all the good Effects and Consequences of it. Yet one I find convenient to mention, not that I think it less obvious than the rest, for it appears most evident at first sight; but because some Gentlemen are pleas'd to oppose it, and it is that I am for **ARMING ALL THE PEOPLE**. Now this is, in my Opinion, so useful and necessary, that, should we obtain nothing besides, it were well worth our while to procure an Act for this alone: For what can better demonstrate the Confidence his Majesty places in the unquestionable Affection of his Subjects, or more increase and confirm the Veneration on these have for him, than that he puts 'em in a Condition of defending themselves against all his and their Enemies, without needing or expecting the Assistance of others? But notwithstanding I took all possible

we care to be duly inform'd, I
ould never hear any weighty Ob-
jection made to this Proposition,
two are commonly offer'd, and
the first of 'em is, that there will be
an end of *Robberies*, and *House-*
breakings in the Country, if the
common People be once arm'd. I
perceive these Gentlemen design to
be *popular*, and the Vulgar are huge-
ly oblig'd to 'em for their good Opi-
on. But supposing the worst, *Rob-*
beries will be so far from being more
frequent than at this time, that this
is the only right Method of totally
suppressing all such Disorders. It is
an ordinary thing for two or three
fellows to commit a *Robbery* in sight
of twenty People, stronger and
braver than themselves, but that are
either without Arms, or know not
how to use 'em; whereas, upon the
Model of our MODEL, when any
House or Persons are known to be at-
tack'd, they are not only provided
for their own Defence, but the
Neighbours are all ready to come in
to their Assistance, both with Arms
in their hands, and as able to handle
'em

'em as *House-breakers* can be Supposed to do. But if the objecting Gentlemen have any meaning, it is *Rogues* only should have Arms, honest Men none to oppose them. For when any are dispos'd to violate the Laws, they always care to arm themselves without any deference to Publick Authority; nor do we find that they ever want Weapons, notwithstanding any Prohibitions to the contrary, which they no more regard than they do those which forbid 'em to steal. But good Men, the contrary, will yield Obedience to the Laws; and so be exposed thus left naked and unarm'd, to Insults and Assaults of the most termin'd Villains. The next objection is, That if the People arm'd, there's an end of all *GAME* in the Kingdom. Now supposing this were true, I think the two we should sooner expose few Birds to the People, than the People to the French or other Enemies. But indeed the *GAME* is in no danger. Deer, for example

m

might be destroy'd with Bows and Arrows, no less than with Guns; yet in old times Englishmen were not disarm'd, but restrain'd from shooting Deer only by Laws, which may be accommodated to Guns as well as to Bows. Hare, Partridge and Pheasant are the principal GAME or Gentlemens diversion; and every one knows that these are more conveniently and frequently destroy'd by Nets, Hounds, Setting-dogs, and other Methods, than by shooting. Severe Penalties, which those concerned will be sure to see inflicted, will prevent any thing of this nature; and I hope we'll never see the Nation disarm'd a second time, under pretence of preserving the GAME. It, perhaps, it will be said, that the FREEMEN may be trusted with Arms, there will be danger to the Poor and Servile. This Objection was sufficiently answer'd in the Discourse subjoin'd to the Second Proposition; and besides I may add, that will satisfy, that Servants are disarm'd according to this Scheme, only disciplin'd against a time of

I

Neces-

Necessity. I suppos'd before an *Ar-
mory* in every Parish, out of which
on the days of Exercise only the
Poor and *Servants* are furnish'd.
And here I would not forget to hint
that all such Arms provided at the
Parochial Charge should be try'd
and approv'd at the Tower of *Lon-
don*, without any Liberty left to the
Overseers to purchase others for this
end, and that they be likewise all
distinguish'd by the Parish Mark.
I had several Opportunities in
this Discourse to shew the Defects of
the Act now in force for regulating
the MILITIA, and my last Remark
upon it shall be, that the *Isles of Wight*
and *Purbeck* are left to * train their
People as formerly. The *Tower-
Hamlets* likewise having been always
(as 'tis said in the Act) under the
Command of his Majesty's Constable or
Lieutenant of the Tower for the Ser-
vice and Preservation of that Fort,
are permitted to be disciplin'd in
such manner and form as heretofore.

The

* 14 Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 22, 30, 31.

The Reason of this Clause is very plain; for those two Islands lying so much expos'd to foreign Invasions, it was fit they should be extraordinarily well provided for Defence. And so the *Tower-Hamlets*, because they were to keep Guard in the Tower, and might from thence distress the City, tho, lest they might not prove so unkind to their Neighbours, they were neglected as the rest, and exercis'd according to the Act: but the other Parts of the Kingdom being most likely to disrelish the Measures of the COURT, were industriously made incapable of Resistance. And that this Suspicion may not seem ill grounded or malicious, I would fain know which was the best Model of training the MILITIA, the New or the Old? if the former, why should the Benefit of it be deny'd to those Places that stood most in need of it? and if the latter, why ought not the whole Nation to be as sufficiently train'd as one or two Islands? But all Persons own that *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, *Wight* and *Purbeck*, are equal

In their Discipline to any Standing Forces. But of this enough; nor can I allow my self to question but all Parties will now unanimously join to render the MILITIA useful for the King's and our common Preservation: for that a *Standing Army* or a *Militia* is of absolute Necessity, is agreed on every side; but the *Army* is order'd to be disbanded, and should those who were for continuing it now oppose the regulating of the *Militia*, they give us a Demonstration that either they never thought us in so great Danger as they pretended, or that they would have us entirely lost, because we refus'd to be sav'd after their Method, tho our own be more effectual and less expensive. I should now conclude, seeing no Objection remains against *arming the whole Free People of England*; but I must first take notice, that our Ancestors in *Germany* did in the time of the *Roman Empire* practise the very same thing, and that they always came arm'd to their Publick Assem-

Assemblies. || The Germans transact
publick or private Affairs, says TA-
ITUS, but under their Arms; yet
it is not usual for any to carry Arms till
the Community first allows him to be
capable. Then some principal Person
in the Assembly, or the young Man's own
father, or one of his Relations, gives
him a Shield and Spear. This is their
ceremony of declaring them to be of
age, and this is the first Honor con-
fer'd on Youth. They were consider'd on-
ly as belonging to a private Family be-
fore, but as a part of the Publick ever
after. That this was our own Ori-
ginal Constitution in the Saxon
time, none can be ignorant who is
ever so little vers'd in our antient
Customs and Writings. But we read
particularly in King EDWARD's
laws, that upon a Day and Place
ap-

|| Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei,
armati agunt. Sed Arma sumere non ante cui-
usvis moris, quam Civitas suffecturum probaverit.
tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis, vel pa-
ter, vel propinquus Scuto Frameaque juvenem or-
nat. Hac apud illos Toga, hic primus juventæ
ornatus: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox Re-
publicæ. De moribus German. cap. 13.

appointed, all that ow'd Suit and Service to any *Hundred* came to meet their new Governor, who stuck his Lance in the Earth, and then took Fealty of them, which they perform'd by touching the Governor's Lance with their own (as the *Germans* us'd to give their Assent by clattering their Arms) whence the whole Place or Meeting was thence as it is now in some of the Northern Parts of *England*, call'd a *Wapentake* from the touching of their Weapons.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 15. line 24. read *keep it*. In the Margin
P. 29. l. 2. r. 14. Car. 2. cap. 3. §. 21. P.
l. 28. for *sixty* r. *twenty*. P. 58. l. 11. dele *is*.

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